192 Maka-Ngumba, from Jem-Dzimu, and from coastal Bantu. The European contributions would come more from Coast English for Ewŏndo and Boulou, from Portuguese "sabir" [198] for Fang, but Coast

[198] /* A mixture of Arabic, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., used in the Levant and Africa. —Tr./

English is increasing its influence on the whole group, as French is doing. The Abbé Walker mentions Arabic influences, but the only authentic examples are extremely rare: I only know of banga (Indian hemp) and arki (alcohol).

3. Characteristics of the Language

193 Sentence structure follows the order: subject, verb, attributive complement, objective complement.

Thus: M'abote évet zel = I moisten chief beard (I grease the chief's palm).

The qualifier, adverb or epithet, is usually but not always placed before the word modified:

abeñ minga = pretty woman; mbia mŏt = wicked man; ŏbe anen = rather large; but

anen abui = very large; bŏte bela = three people.

192 Trilles, in Totemism among the Fang (no. 166) (1), estimates [129]

1. The numbers inside parentheses refer to corresponding numbers in the Bibliography, p. 179.

the vocabulary at 18, 000 words, undoubtedly counting as separate words certain derivatives, especially verbal inflections, which could as well be classed with the radical form, as to Bates and Good; they obtained a Boulou vocabulary of about 7, 000 words, which is far from being complete. The correct number must be near 10, 000 to 12, 000 at least. While the language has been enriched by European and non-Pahouin African loan words, it appears at the same time to have been impoverished by the loss of certain nuances of meaning, of technical or religious terms, of older literary or poetical figures

of speech, and this to a large extent owing to European influence, in particular compulsory schooling. The teaching of rhetoric played a great part in the traditional education of boys (njôô, nzoé = speaker, orator = chief), and initiation into various rites gave the initiates the right to use certain words forbidden to the uninitiated (2). Con-

2. I was never able to learn the real word for "skull" reserved for biéri initiates; I was only told the paraphrase, ékokoé nlo môt, "shell of a man's head."

version to Christianity and instruction in colonial schools have brought about a definite deterioration in the language, by forcing traditional education to retreat or by destroying it. It is thus that the novel Nnanga kôn (no. 153), written after the war of 1914, is nowadays arduous reading for young Boulou.

The majority of the words in the language are formed from /22/ a biliteral root (consonant-vowel) or triliteral (consonant-vowel-consonant) to which affixes are added. There are thus series such as:

KI (Fang) or TYI (Boulou), radical—kié, tyé = power; éki, étyi = prohibition; tyik = to cut, to decide; tyi = to be under a prohibition; tyili = to lay under a prohibition, to forbid; étyé, ékié = iron, pl. bityé, bikie = sacramental money; ôtyeñ, ôk(i)eñ = knife; metyi, meki = blood, etc.

The most important affixes are the nominal classifiers, which permit the division of nouns and pronouns into nominal classes or semantic genders; sexual gender does not exist. There are five or six of these classes or genders, according to different writers. Semantic implication /sic/ is not always clear in true substantives, but it is much more so for verbal substantives. I give here the Boulou classes according to Bates:

I. nominal classifiers: m, n, n/be, b; pronominal classifiers: a, ny, w/be, b. —Personal class, names of persons, of personified animals; names of European origin. Verbal derivatives indicating the agent.

Ex: mot, bot = person; ngal, beyal = wife, female;
metoa, bemetoa = conveyance /voiture/;
mbo, bebo = he who does /makes/, from bo = to do /make/;
ndi = he who eats, from di = to eat.

A3 II. m, ñ, n/mi; ô, w/mi. —Various names, without specific semantic connotation; verbal derivatives indicating the result of action, under some sort of passive aspect; derivatives of nouns of other classes indicating quality or state.

Ex: mbu, mimbu = season; nsoñ, minsoñ = point;
mboan (1) = action (what is done), from bo = to do /make/;

1. The forms of the verb in -ban and -an correspond to passive and reciprocal aspects.

ñyeman = sapience, understanding, from yem = to know;
ndiban (1) = closed, from dip = to close; ñwuan = deceased, from wu = to die;
mbe'e = burden, cargo, from be'e = to carry;
nkôbo = speech, from kôbo = to speak;
mintaé = pain, suffering, from taé = to hurt;
ndindim = a blind man, from ndim = blindness;
ñwuwup = a thief, from wup = theft.

III. no nominal classifier; pronominal classifiers e, ny, j. —Words of this class may be used in the plural with I and IV classifiers (be, b; me, m) according to the sense; no words derived from verbs; the corresponding form of the verb is the simple or elementary form.

Ex: zok, optional plural bezok = elephant;
kal, optional plural bekal = sister;
fa, optional plural mefa = saber /23/

N.B. —This class is perhaps peculiar to Boulou and Ewôndo; in Fang most of the corresponding words take a regular classifier in the singular. Ex: ze, zok, kal (B.) = nze, nzok, nkal (F.).

IV. a, d, j/me, m, e, d/me, m. —Odd nouns, including however many anatomical terms; words derived from verbs, indicating a verb's action in itself, corresponding either to an infinitive or to a substantive infinitive (drinking /le boire/, eating /le manger/), names of trees derived from names of fruit.

Ex: jam, mam = thing, matter, question;
jôé, môé = name, nose, authority; abo, mebo = paw;
abum, mebum = belly, uterus, pregnancy;
ake = the fact of going, the going; mevak = rejoicing, from vak = to rejoice;
ayôñ = heat, from yôñ = to be hot.

193 V. é, j/bi; é, j/bi. —Names of tools or instruments, often found in the next class; names of qualities used as adjectives; various nouns, some of them European words; words derived from verbs, indicating the object of an action, its objective result; words derived from nouns, with an idea of strengthening or increase.

Ex: jôm, biôm = thing, merchandise; évele = red, the fact of being red, redness; ébak, bibak = hoe;
bidi = food, what is eaten, from di = to eat;
éto = state, situation, meeting, session, from to = to be seated;
élik = inheritance, legacy, what one leaves, from lik = to leave;
ékotôkot = cheating, from nkot = crooked;
éseñ = forest, copse of umbrella trees /musanga Smithii, R. Br., used for paper pulp, — Tr./, from aseñ = umbrella.

VI. ô, vi, w/a, l; ô, vi, w/e, d. —Various nouns, including names of tools and instruments; names of elusive, transitory things; names of small things and diminutive derivatives; words derived from verbs, apparently indicating intellectual qualities.

Ex: ôdiba'a, adiba'a = key (also exists in Class V: édiba'a);
ôsoé, asoé = river; ôtita = smoke; ôyo = sleep;
vioé, loé = laughter; viek, lek = cooking pot;
ôlé = stick (élé = tree); ônon = bird; ôbe, abe = small, a bit of, a small quantity;
ôfifis = small piece, from éfus = piece; ôkukut = fool, from akut = mad;
ôsimsan = good memory, from simsan = to remember; ôvuan = memory, from vuan = to forget.

Bates adds to these six classes a fossil class of names of liquids, which is well represented in the Bantu languages but in Pahouin only includes words identical with plurals of Class IV, with rare exceptions. I must also mention certain words that belong /24/ to classes or genders that differ according to whether they are in the singular or the plural (1).

1. Certain morphological irregularities have semantic implications. Ex: ésa, in the sense of "father," becomes in the plural beésa (Class I, personal); in its normal class (V, augmentative,

• 193 pl. bisa) it means "extended family." The two words (which have different tones) come from sak, to ejaculate, to f.... /sic: probably foutre/ which would have led to *nsak, besak = genitor, father.

The pronominal classifiers have an important and typical role, that of connecting a noun and its complement or a noun-subject and its verb. Nevertheless, this rule does not seem to be absolute, and Boulou especially is quite ready to omit the connective in the genitive, particularly in the singular:

jôm é ntañgan or jôm ntañgan, biôm bi ntañgan or biôm ntañgan = thing or things of whiteness;

mon a fañ, bo' be fañ = a or some Fang;

alu e ne dibi, melu me ne dibi = the night (s) is (are) dark;

mvu j'adi, bemvu b'adi = the dog (s) eats (eat).

Fundamentally, verbs are divided into verbs of state or position and verbs of action, which are not conjugated the same way. One type is derived from another by affixation to the radical, which makes it possible to complete the defective conjugation of verbs of state by recourse to their active derivatives. Tense, mood, voice, and aspect are indicated either by affixation or inflection, or by using auxiliary verbs, some of which have a meaning by themselves, while others may only be used with another verb (the last are perhaps simple affixes).

Pronouns and pronoun-adjectives are well represented, while qualifying adjectives are rare, especially in Boulou, and are most frequently replaced by nouns of quality or state that do not agree. The same is to be observed concerning tool-words /mots-outils/: aside from a few adverbs, the invariable conjunction and preposition, nouns are mainly used:

éyoñ = time, circumstance = when; mfa'a = direction, orientation = toward; ajô te = this matter = thus, therefore, consequently, etc.

194 From the phonetic point of view the outstanding trait of the group is undoubtedly the use of tones, which is the basis of telephony by drum (nkul), bell (nkeñ), or modulated cry (ékiga). Bates and Johnson recognize five tones, plus the glissando of the negative. Bertaut, following the German scholars, distinguishes two fundamental tones, high and low; two derived ones, ascending and descending;